Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BAGHDA 00208 01 OF 02 010824Z
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 SSM-03 IO-13 MCT-01 /085 W
----------010907Z 002958 /11
R 010627Z FEB 77
FM USINT BAGHDAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4104
INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

C O N F I D EHN T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BAGHDAD 0208

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS:80*94, XF, IZ
SUBJECT: IRAQI VIEWS OF MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS

1. SUMMARY: RECENT STATEMENTS BY SADDAM HUSSEIN SUGGEST THAT IRAQ IS MOVING IN THE DIRECTION OF A MORE PASSIVE STANCZ TOWARDS CURRENT EFFORTS TO OBTAIN AN ARAB-ISRAELI SETTLEMENT. INDICATED IRAQI AIM IS STILL THE EVENTUAL REPLACEMENT OF ISRAEL AS A JEWISH STATE BY A "DEMOCRATIC STATE OF PALESTINE" BUT HUSSEIN NOW SEEMS WILLING TO ACCEPT AN ARAB-ISRAELI SATTLEMENT AS AN INTERIM STEP TOWARDS THIS EVENTUAL GOAL. END SUMMARY.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 BAGHDA 00208 01 OF 02 010824Z

2. IRAQI STRONGMAN SADDAM HUSSEIN TOOK OCCASION OF AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE IRAQI ENGINEERING FEDERATION TO DISCUSS IN SOME DETAIL THE BASIC ATTITUDES WHICH MOTIVATE IRAQ'S APPROACH TO FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES, ESPECIALLY THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE. HUSSEIN BEGAN BY MENTIONING THAT HE HAD RECENTLY HAD A CONVERSATION WITH A LEADING WORLD FIGURE (NOT SPEC-

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

IFIED) IN WHICH PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS TO THE MIDLE EAST PRO-
BLEM HAD BEEN URGED UPON HIM. IN RESPONSE, HUSSEIN POSED THE
QUESTION OF WHY IT WAS THAT THE WORLD'S MAJOR PROPHETS HAD
ALL COME FROM THE MIDDLE EAST. HE ANSWERED BY SAYING THAT
CHIEF AMONG THE TRAITS OF THE PEOPLE IN THIS AREA IS THAT
THEY REFUSED TO YIELD THEMSELVES EXCLUSIVELY TO
MATERIAL FACTORS. AS HE DESCRIBED THE CONVERSATION, HUSSEIN
PROCEEDED TO TELL THE UNNAMED WORLD FIGURE THAT MOST ARAB
GOVERNMENTS MUST BE CONDITIONED IN THEIR BEHAVIOR BY THE
FACT THAT THEY HAD NOT COME TO POWER BY TRADITIONAL DEMO-
CRATIC MEANS BUT RATHER BY COUPS AND REVOLUTIONS. IT COULD
BE EXPECTEDHPHEREFORE THAT THEY MIGHT DISAPPEAR IN THE SAME
MANNER AS SOON AS THEY BEGAN TO BETRAY CAUSES SUCH AS THE
PALESTINE CAUSE, THE LEVERAGE OF WHICH HAD AIDED THEIR
ACCESSION TO POWER. ACCORDINGLY, ANY SOLUTION TO THE
PALESTINE ISSUE MUST BE BOTH FUNDAMENTAL AND ACCEPTABLE
TO THE ARAB PEOPLE. OTHERWISDLN ARAB LEADERS WHO MIGHT ACCEPT
A SOLTION WOULD DISAPPEAR AND THE PROBLEM WOULD RE-EMERGE.

3. WITH RESPECT TO CURRENT PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT WITH
ISRAEL, HUSSEIN ARGUED THAT THE "ZIONIST ENEMY" WOULD SURELY
REFUSE TO ACCEPT OBJECTIVES WHICH HAD BEEN DECLARED BY SOME
ARAB RULERS. HUSSEIN DOES NOT ACCEPT, HOWEVER, THE COUNTER
ARGUMENTS T RT ONE SHOULD OFFER TO SETTLE FOR WHAT IS BELOW
THE CENTRAL ARAB TARGET SIMPLY TO EMBARRASS THE "ZIONIST
ENEMY" BEFORE WORLD PUBLIC OPINION. HUSSEIN STATED HIS
OPINION THAT CHANGES IN THE ATTITUDES OF INTERNATIONAL
POWERS WERE NOT THE RESULT OF AN APPRECIATION THAT THE ARAB
POSITION WAS RIGHT BUT RATHER THE RESULT OF THE STRENGTH
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BAGHDA 00208 01 OF 02 010824Z

OF THE ARAB WORLD AS EVIDENCED IN THE FITNESS OF ARB NATIONS
TO BATTLE ISRAEL IN THE OCTOBER 1973 WAR AND THE USE OF
OIL AS A POLITICAL WEAPON.

4. HUSSEIN WENT ON TO ARGUE THAT "OBJECTIVE FACTORS" OF
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS WERE MOVING IN A DIRECTION FAVORABLE
TO THE ARAB WORLD AND THAT OTHER NATIONS ARE CHANGING THEIR
ATTITUDES AS THEY REALIZE THAT THE ARABS ARE PROGRESSING
IN REGARD TO THE ACQUISITION OF POWER. THIS, HE NOTED, WAS
A SITUATION WHICH WOULD NOT BE CHANGED BY DIPLOMATIC FORMULAS.

5. IN HIS FALYSIS OF THE BALANCE OF INTERNATIONAL FORCES,
HUSSEIN EMPHASIZED THAT THEHPRESENT BI-POLAR WORLD DOES NOT
PROVIDE THE ARAB NATION WITH ADEQUATE MEANS DMR MANEUVER.
HE EXPECTS, HOWEVER, THAT MORE CENTERS OF POWER WILL EMERGE
OVER THE NEXT 20 YEARS. UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES, ARGUED
HUSSEIN, MUST ONE CREATE THE IMPRESSION THAT AMERICA AND
THE SOVIET UNION CAN AGREE BETWEEN THEMSELVES TO DECIDE THE
DESTINY MD THE WORLD.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

6. HUSSEIN THEN TALKED ABOUT THE QUESTION OF "FLEXIBILITY"
MAKING CLEAR THAT HE WAS REPLYING TO UNNAMED CRITICS OF
IRAQI POLICY.
HE SAID THAT ARABS QUITE RIGHTLY VIEW THEIR
RULERS WITH A DEGREE OF SUSPICION. HE STATED THAT UNLESS
FLEXIBILITY IN POLITICAL ACTION IS COUPLED WITH CLEAR-CUT
STRATEGIC GOALS, THE ARB MASSES WOULD VIEW SUCH FLEXIBILITY
AS A CLOAK FOR RETREAT. RECENT HISTORY, SAID HUSSEIN, WILL
TESTIFY THAT WHENEVER ANYARAB RULER STARTS TALKING IN TERMS
OF FLEXIBILITY, HIS NEXT MOVE IS TO BEAT A RETREAT. TO
TALK, THEREFORE, OF PEACE WITHOUT MAKING THE NECESSARY PRE-
PARATIONS FOR WAR WOULD UNDERMINE MUTUAL CONFIDENCE BE-
TWEEN ARAB RULERS AND THEIR PEOPLE, THEREBY ERODING THE POWER
OF THE ARAB PEOPLE, ONE OF THE ESSENTIAL FACTORS OF THE
PRESENT ARAB STRENGTH.
WILEY
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 BAGHDA 00208 01 OF 02 010824Z

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BAGHDA 00208 02 OF 02 010903Z
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 IO-13 SSM-03 MCT-01 /085 W
----------010906Z 003382 /12
R 010627Z FEB 77
FM USINT BAGHDAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4105
INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BAGHDAD 0208

7. JUST AS WRONG, STATED HUSSEIN, WOULD BE TO IGNORE INTERNATIONAL FACTORS WHICH PREVENT THE ARABS FROM REACHING THEIR OBJECTIVES AT THIS TIME. WE KNOW WELL, HE SAID, THAT INTERNATIONAL POLICY DOES NOT NOW PERMIT THE DESTRUCTION OF THE "ZIONIST ENTITY". HOWEVER, THOSE WHO WISH TO ENTER INTO POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ON THAT BASIS MUST REALIZE THAT PRESENT INTERNATIONAL FACTORS ARE NOT THE FINAL TRUTH. IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS FACTS ARE RELATIVE AND CAN CHANGE OVER TIME. THE STRENGTH OF THE ARAB NATION PLAYS A CRUCIAL ROLE IN CAUSING FACTS TO EVOLVE. WHAT MIGHT BE REGARDED AS A FACT OF LIFE TODAY MIGHT CEASE TO BE SO TOMORROW.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

8. HUSSEIN THEN ADDRESSED SPECIFICALLY THE QUESTION OF A SETTLEMENT WHICH WOULD RETURN TO THE ARABS LANDS OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL IN JUNE 1967. HE SAID THAT IRAQ WAS NOT OPPOSED TO POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, BUT FLEXIBILITY BECOMES A CLOAK FOR RETREAT UNLESS IT IS STOUTLY TIED TO THE CENTRAL STRATEGIC TARGET. THE LIBERATION OF ANY PART OF PALESTINE, HE SAID, WOULD BE A TRIUMPH BUT IT MUST NOT BE ACCEPTED AS A FINAL AIM. THE SITUATION ARISING FROM SUCH A TRIUMPH SHOULD BE DEVELOPED TOWARD LIBERATING YET ANOTHER PART OF PALESTINE.

9. HUSSEIN'S SPEECH TO ENGINEERS WAS PUBLISHED IN FRIDAY ARABIC NEWSPAPERS WITH FANFARE INDICATING IT WAS TO BE TAKEN AS MAJOR POLICY STATEMENT. TRANSLATION OF FULL TEXT APPEARED IN BAGHDAD OBSERVER OF JANUARY 29, COPIES OF WHICH HAVE BEEN POUCHED TO NEA/ARN, INR/P, AND DIA.

10. GOVERNMENT OWNED AL-JUMHURIYA PUBLISHED JANUARY 29 THE RELATED SUMMARY OF AN INTERVIEW WITH SADDAM HUSSEIN WHICH WAS TO BE PUBLISHED IN EGYPTIAN MAGAZINE AL-MUSAWWAR ON JANUARY 29. (IRAQI AUTHORITIES DO NOT NORMALLY PERMIT DISTRIBUTION OF AL-MUSAWWAR HERE.) IRAQI VERSION OF INTER-VIEW HEADLINES HUSSEIN'S VIEW THAT BEST CONDITIONS FOR MOGILIZING ARAB, INCLUDING EGYPTIAN, MASSES FOR CONFRONTATION WITH ISRAEL ARE CONDTIONS OF CONFLICT RATHER THAN PEACE. NONETHELESS, HUSSEIN EXPRESSED IN GENERAL TERMS TOLERANCE OF DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN OTHER ARAB LEADERS AND ISRAELIS TO ACHIEVE TRANSITIONAL AIMS, SO LONG AS ARAB NEGOTIATORS DID NOT LOSE SIGHT OF LONG RANGE AIMS AND DEMANDS OF ARAB PEOPLES. IN CONTEXT OF IRAQ'S WILLINGNESS TO TAKE BACK IRAQI JEWS WHO WANT TO LEAVE ISRAEL, HUSSEIN SUPPORTED IDEA OF A

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

"DEMOCRATIC STATE OF PALESTINE" TO WHICH ALL ARABS RESIDENT
THERE BEFORE 1948 COULD RETURN. HE ARGUED THAT
ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT WAS NOT A RELIGIOUS ONE.

11. COMMENT: PRIOR TO THESE STATEMENTS, IRAQI POSITION
HAS BEEN WHOLLY NEGATIVE TO THE IDEA OF ANY NEGOTIATED
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BAGHDA 00208 02 OF 02 010903Z

SETTLEMENT WITH ISRAEL. CLEARLY, SADDAM HUSSEIN IS STILL
FAR FROM THE POSITION OF ARAB MODERATES, BUT WE VIEW HIS
REMARKS TO ENGINEERS AND TO AL-MUSAWWAR AS ATTEMPTS TO CRAWL
OFF THE REJECTIONIST LIMB. IRAQI MEDIA IN RECENT WEEKS HAS
SUNG REPETITIOUS REFRAIN WARNING AGAINST SETTLEMENT EFFORTS,
ESPECIALLY EFFORTS TO WEAKEN PALESTINIAN RESOLVE TO FIGHT ON.
GIVEN IRAQ'S PAST SUPPORT FOR REJECTIONIST PALESTINIAN
GROUPS, IT SEEMED LIKELY THAT IRAQ WOULD SUPPORT TERRORIST
OPERATIONS AIMING AT SABOTAGE OF ANY ARRANGEMENTS TO RESUME
GENEVA CONFERENCE. THIS SEEMS MUCH LESS LIKELY TO US NOW.
WE BELIEVE THAT SADDAM HUSSEIN, WHO HAS GRADUALLY STRENG-
THENED HIS INTERNAL POSITION, MAY FEEL STRONG ENOUGH NOW
TO RESIST REJECTIONIST IDEALOGUES AMONG BAATH PARTY MEMBERS.
HE SURELY APPRECIATES THAT IRAQ AS A STATE COULD ONLY
ISOLATE ITSELF FURTHER IF IT OPPOSED ARAB CONSENSUS, WHICH
INCLUDED A MAJOR SHARE OF THE PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP, TO
ENTER INTO A SETTLEMENT WITH ISRAEL.

12. SADDAM HUSSEIN WOULD, OF COURSE, LIKE TO KEEP HIS RAD-
ICAL CREDENTIALS WHILE AT THE SAME TIME BACKING IRAQ WARILY
OUT OF ITS ISOLATED POSITION. IN HIS SPEECH TO THE ENGINEERS
HE REFRAINED FROM ANY POLEMICS AGAINST THE U.S. OR IMPERIA-
LISM AND REFERRED TO THE U.S. AND THE U.S.S.R. IN PRECISELY
EQUAL TERMS AS "CENTERS OF POWER". HE SEEMED AWARE THAT
THE SOVIET UNION MIGHT ALSO SUPPORT AN ARAB CONSENSUS THAT
THE TIME FOR A SETTLEMENT HAD COME. IN GENERAL, WE SEE
HUSSEIN'S TWO STATEMENTS AS A CAREFULLY CALCULATED EFFORT
TO PREPARE IRAQ'S PUBLIC AND IRAQ'S REJECTIONIST CLIENTS
FOR A SHIFT BY IRAQ TO A MORE PASSIVE STANCE DURING THE COMING
NEGOTIATIONS FOR AN ARAB-ISRAELI SETTLEMENT.
WILEY

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, PEACE PLANS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 01-Feb-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BAGHDA00208
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770035-0230
Format: TEL
From: BAGHDAD
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770287/aaaaczcz.tel
Line Count: 267
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 8c7408ce-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 20-Jul-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3446013
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: IRAQI VIEWS OF MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS
TAGS: PFOR, XF, IZ
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/8c7408ce-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009